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THE
AFRICAN REPOSITORY,
AND
COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. IV. **AUGUST, 1828.** No. 6.

Communication.

Report of the Committee of Foreign Relations, in the Senate of the United States, to whom were referred sundry petitions and memorials, and the resolutions of several Legislatures of different States, in relation to the Colonization of Persons of Colour.

THIS Report is the avowed production of Mr. Tazewell, of Virginia; and from the unquestionable talents, and the known hostility of that gentleman to the Colonization Society, it would be fair to infer, that in this laboured and (we believe) favourite production of his pen, might be found embodied, all that genius and intolerance could suggest, against a cause in which a large proportion of the best feelings and the best talents of our country have so generously embarked. The Report has accordingly been referred to, and, in some instances, republished with feelings of unmeasured exultation, in those sections of the country, where hostility to the Colonization Society would seem to be the only recognized test of patriotism.

With due deference, however, to our fellow-citizens of the South, and without meaning to detract, in the smallest degree,

from the reputation of their senatorial champion, we must be pardoned for saying, that, in our humble opinion, this is far from being the most formidable attack to which the Colonization Society has been exposed. Much more powerful batteries have, at different times, been directed against it, and directed, we humbly conceive, by more skilful hands.

Had this Report, then, come to us on the individual responsibility of Mr. Tazewell, high as is his reputation, and great as are his talents, we should probably have passed it without notice.— But it carries with it the sanction of a Committee of the Senate; and the appeal it contains, is officially addressed to the most august legislative body in the Union. We feel impelled, therefore, by the strongest sense of duty, by our high respect for the legislative department of our country, and by an earnest desire to clear away the mist that prejudice is continually attempting to throw around this interesting subject, to invite the attention of our readers to Mr. Tazewell's argument. And we shall be very much mistaken, if a large proportion of them do not concur with us in the opinion, that an opposition to the Colonization Society, resting on the grounds we are about to expose, is very little to be dreaded.

The distinguished individuals to whom we are indebted for the first matured and practical conception of colonizing Africa, by ridding America of an injurious population, gave unequivocal evidence of their own views in relation to the powers and resources necessary for the accomplishment of their magnificent scheme. At the very moment of their organization, they appointed a Committee to solicit the aid of Congress: and similar Committees were appointed, and similar petitions presented, from time to time, with little other hope, (it would seem,) than to keep the public attention alive to the subject, and to show that their ultimate reliance was on national and not on individual resources.

At the eighth and ninth Annual Meetings of the Society, however, the subject was at length taken up, with different and more serious views; and after a long and animated discussion, it was resolved, that memorials should be presented to both Houses of Congress, "praying such aid and assistance to the Society, as they should think proper to afford."

In pursuance of this resolution, memorials were accordingly prepared and presented, and were met by others of similar character, both from state legislatures, and numberless individuals, throughout the country. In the House of Representatives, these memorials were received with the kindest feelings, and were answered by the Committee to whom they were referred, in a report of the most favourable character. Their fate, however, in the Senate, was entirely different; and they were met, as will be seen in the Report before us, by the declaration, that Congress had no power to grant the assistance asked, and that if they had, it would be inexpedient to grant it.

This declaration contains in both its branches, matter of most serious import; and if it can be sustained in *either*, must, of course, throw a cloud over the sanguine anticipations that have been formed in relation to Africa and America. We hope, therefore, to be pardoned for inviting the earnest attention of our readers of every description, to the views we are about to present on this interesting subject.

As far as we can gather from the Report of the Committee, even those of the memorialists who specified the precise sort of aid they desired at the hands of Congress, asked nothing more than the provision of a territory on the Coast of Africa, for the reception of the coloured people of our country, and the appropriation of the necessary funds for aiding them in their removal to it. And yet on both these points, their application is resisted on constitutional grounds.

Of the general right of the Government of the United States to acquire territory, we do not know that we can present our own impression, more strongly, than in the following extracts from the Report of the Committee.

"The acquisition of new territory, no matter where such territory may be situated, or in what mode, or for what purpose, such acquisition may be made, is an exercise of one of the highest powers which any government can ever exert." "All the examples which history furnishes of new territory acquired by any nation, in past time, exhibit but three modes in which such acquisition hath ever been made. These are by discovery, conquest, or negotiation." "Every government charged with the exclusive direction of the exterior relations of the nation for which it was designed, and specially endowed with the general powers of regulating

commerce, of waging war, and of conducting negotiations, must enjoy, as incident to these powers, the right of prosecuting discoveries, of achieving conquests, and of concluding treaties; and, consequently, must enjoy the right of acquiring new territory by any of these means, unless this natural incident of the powers granted is expressly denied to such government, by those who created and so endowed it. The Federal Constitution specially grants to the Government of the United States, all these general powers, and contains no direct inhibition of the right of acquiring new territory, which, as has been said, necessarily and naturally flows from each of them. The Committee, therefore, cannot doubt, that the Government of the United States does possess the right of acquiring new territory, by some of the modes before referred to, whenever the case may occur, to which any of these modes of acquiring new territory is properly applicable. They see, moreover, that the past practice of this government has conformed to this opinion, in the memorable examples of the acquisition of the territory of Louisiana from France, and of Florida from Spain."

We present the above quotations as the most conclusive and unanswerable train of reasoning, on the subject to which they relate; and when we first read them, we felt satisfied, that whatever the Committee might decide, as to the right of appropriation, they entertained no doubt whatsoever, of the right of the Government to acquire the proposed territory. What, then, was our surprise, when at the commencement of the very next paragraph, we encountered the following sentence.

"But while the Committee can readily discern the source of the right asserted by the United States in the cases referred to, and can as distinctly perceive that such a right may, at any time hereafter, be legitimately asserted as an incident and consequence of some of the high powers to which they have referred it, whenever the case may arise to which these powers properly apply, they cannot discover what support this opinion can afford to the legitimate acquisition of the new territory, which is proposed upon the present occasion."

Now we beg the most ingenious and talented of our readers, to peruse for a single moment, and to try whether, by the exercise of all the powers of their minds, they can (admitting the correctness of the previous reasoning of the Committee,) assign a single reason, satisfactory to themselves, why the acquisition of the particular territory proposed, is to constitute an exception to the acknowledged general right of acquiring territory.

Having searched the Constitution in vain, for "an express denial" of this "natural and necessary incident" to the enumerated powers of regulating commerce, of making war, and of negotiating treaties; and finding in its whole extent, no "direct inhibition" of the right in question, must they not be led to the irresistible conclusion, that this "natural and necessary right" of course exists?

But how fallacious are the deductions of the acutest intellect! How many wonderful things are to be met with "in heaven and earth, that are not even dreamt of in the philosophy" of the uninitiated! Who but the ingenious gentleman at the head of the Committee of Foreign Relations in the Senate, could ever have discovered that the case in question was precisely that case, to which alone, the various modes of acquiring territory, acknowledged to appertain to the General Government, "were not properly applicable!" To discover *why* they are not, would perhaps puzzle our readers quite as much, as the stumbling block already thrown in their way—and that their patience may no longer be trifled with, we accordingly present them with the following summary of the reasoning of the Committee, in support of the exception they have been pleased to make.

"The United States," say they, "cannot acquire territory on the Coast of Africa by the right of discovery, because its whole coast has already been explored by other civilized nations, who have not thought proper to occupy it. The reasons which restrained them, merit at least as much consideration from the United States, as they have received from the elder members of the family of civilized man; and must of course preclude them from advancing any claim to African territory, on the ground of first discovery and prime occupancy.

"Nor does the right of declaring war apply to the case in question. The power to declare war, like all the other discretionary powers, conferred by the Constitution, is necessarily limited by the ends and objects for which alone it may be rightfully exerted. Now as war is never to be justified except as a means necessary to the preservation of permanent peace and greater security; and as the peculiar situation of the savage hordes, occupying the coast of Africa, renders it impossible that they should ever threaten the peace or disturb the security of the United States, the power to declare war can hardly be considered as embracing them within its scope, and of course no territory can be acquired *amongst them, however it may be elsewhere*, by the right of conquest.

"Equally inapplicable is the treaty-making power to the case now under consideration. This too is a discretionary power granted to the United States by the Constitution; but like all other powers of the same kind, it has its limits. These limits the Committee do not think it necessary to define; but satisfy themselves with the remark, that from the very nature of the power, as well as from its effect on the parties concerned, and indeed on the whole civilized world, it can be exercised only by two or more sovereigns, acting together for the attainment of the same object, by means of a compact, which, when concluded, is to be obligatory on the whole people governed by such sovereigns. Civilized nations have accordingly seldom believed themselves at liberty to conclude treaties with absolute savages—no instance can be adduced, in modern times, of the conclusion of such treaties with the savage tribes wandering over the deserts, or dwelling on the coast of Africa—and hence the Committee infer, that the right of acquiring new territory, which it is proposed the United States should exert, in order to make such acquisition in Africa, can derive as little support from the treaty-making, as from the other great powers of the Government.

"But even if this difficulty did not exist, an insuperable one would be found in the remote situation of the territory proposed to be acquired. The treaty-making power of the United States is admitted to be equal to the legitimate acquisition of new territory, either within or contiguous to their original dominions; but it does not extend to the acquisition of a distant territory in another quarter of the globe, separated from the United States by a wide ocean. A country so situated, being, in the nature of things, unable to contribute its just proportion of the blessings, or to bear its proper share of the responsibilities of our representative system, could, of course, never be admitted into the Union as an integral part of the confederation. It must, therefore, either be retained in a state of colonial dependence, or it must be endowed with the character and attributes of a sovereign state, entirely independent of the parent country. Neither of those are the United States authorized to do; and hence it is inferred, that the treaty-making power does not extend to the acquisition of a territory, creating an absolute obligation to do one or the other. And this impression is strengthened by the fact, that all the treaties hitherto made for the acquisition of territory, have contained stipulations for its future admission into the Union, as a part and equal member of the confederation."

Such we believe to be a fair exposition of the reasoning of the Committee, and we are perfectly satisfied that with the generality of our readers, it might be safely left, without any other answer, than could be drawn from the extracts already made from their own Report. But it has been so much the fashion of late, to cavil at the exercise of the simplest and most obvious

powers of the General Government—prejudice and interest have so often combined to reduce those powers to a scale wholly disproportioned to the demands of the country, and wholly incompatible with the intentions of the framers of our Constitution, that it has become the solemn duty of every lover of law and order, and of every friend to the permanency of our republican system, to array himself on the side of the Constitution, and to shield it, if possible, against attacks, from whatever quarter they may come, that are calculated to diminish its value, if not to destroy its very existence. — Under these impressions, we must beg leave to pass the arguments of the honorable Committee a little farther in review, before we take our final leave of them.

The enumerated powers of the General Government, (and amongst the rest, the three specified by the Committee,) are all given alike, for the purposes of “forming a more perfect union, establishing justice, ensuring domestic tranquillity, providing for the common defence, promoting the general welfare,” &c. &c. Whenever, in the opinion of Congress, any one or all of these ends can be attained by the exercise of any one or all of their enumerated powers, the authority to exercise them is absolute, and the laws they may pass in pursuance thereof, become “the supreme law of the land, any thing in the Constitution and laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.” It is of no consequence, that the exercise of the power in question may fall short of or exceed the end proposed—that it may disappoint the expectations formed as to its result—that it may violate established principles of policy—that it may fall with severity on some portions of our own country—or may even operate unjustly towards foreign nations. If it only avoid forbidden ground—if it involve no incident “expressly denied”—if it violate no “direct inhibition” of the Constitution—the power is constitutionally exercised. It may be injudiciously exercised—it may be exercised in a bad spirit, but it is constitutionally exercised, and its effects can be got rid of, in no other way, than by an act of formal repeal.

Let us apply these principles to the reasoning of the Committee. The Congress of the United States, thinking it important to the interests of the country, that we should possess some

point of territory beyond the Atlantic, authorize an expedition for the purpose of discovering and designating a convenient spot. A large and commodious territory, in every respect suitable and calculated in the highest degree to facilitate our commercial operations, or to promote the "general welfare" of the country in some other way, is found on the Coast of Africa. It is inhabited by no one—not even savages—and no claim is set up to it by any civilized nation. We take it for granted, that here is a case, to which, the Committee themselves would, according to their own showing, pronounce the commercial powers of Congress "properly applicable." And, as the constitution contains no "express denial," no "direct inhibition" of the power exercised, the territory would of course become the property of the United States, on the ground of "first discovery and prime occupancy." In process of time, however, it is ascertained, that the vessels of some other nation had, many centuries back, touched at the same point; but seeing that no great advantage could result to their country from so remote and inhospitable a possession, had abandoned as soon as they had discovered it.—From that moment, the whole proceeding of the government becomes unconstitutional and void, and the power exercised, though constitutional in itself, and opposed by no "express denial," no "direct inhibition of the constitution," is nevertheless, unconstitutionally exercised, simply because the territory in question had been previously visited by the vessels of another nation.—Are the honourable Committee prepared for this extraordinary result, to which by the process of their own reasoning, they are inevitably brought?

Again, the power of declaring war is expressly given to the Government of the United States. It is given, like its commercial powers, for the purposes exhibited in the preamble to the constitution. The time and the mode of exercising it, are left without limitation to the discretion of Congress. On that discretion, however, the Committee would impose a limitation of their own creation—a limitation founded on motives of action, and an arbitrary selection of one in preference to all the other ends, for which the power in question is given. "War," say they, "is never to be justified except as a means necessary to the preservation of permanent peace and greater security."—

And as the condition of the people of Africa "places it beyond credulity that any or all of them can now threaten the peace or disturb the security of any, the most exposed spot in this hemisphere," the right of making war on them is denied, however the "general welfare," (an end as important and as defined as the "common defence,") might be otherwise promoted by it. Had the Committee been satisfied with representing wars, except for the "preservation of permanent peace and greater security," as in the main unjust and impolitic, we might have argued with them. But when they deny the constitutional right of Congress to declare war for any other purposes, than such as they have specified, we must be pardoned for appealing from their judgment, to the express letter of the constitution itself.

We think it proper, however, here to observe, that in noticing these arguments of the Committee, we have no view to the immediate interests of the Colonization Society. We have never looked to the commercial or military powers of the government as the means of accomplishing the purposes of that Society; and so far as the acquisition of territory is desirable, we are satisfied that the treaty-making power is amply sufficient to accomplish every thing that will be asked.

If the acquisition of territory be not a legitimate object for the exercise of this power, it will be a difficult matter to find one that is. And if it be—as common sense would indicate, as the Committee themselves acknowledge, and as the uniform practice of the government demonstrates it to be—we know of no constitutional limitation on the exercise of the power, or on its application to any particular case, but that its aim should be the general good, that it should disregard no "express denial," and should infringe no "direct inhibition" of the Constitution.—These considerations being regarded, there is nothing to prevent the acquisition of desirable territory from one people more than from another, or in one situation more than in another. If we can purchase territory from the Indians, we can purchase it as well from the Africans—the latter are, to say the least, as civilized as the former. And if we can extend our dominions in our own neighbourhood, there is nothing to prevent us from extending them in a distant land. In every case, the power is equally complete; and the only question in relation to any pur-

chase, is the question of expediency—a question left exclusively to the discretion of Congress.

As to the subsequent use of the territory, the Constitution has left no room for doubt or difficulty. In authorizing “the admission of new states” on the one hand, and in giving to Congress on the other, express power “to dispose of and to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory of the United States.” it has provided for every emergency. It has wisely left it to the representatives of the people to dispose of the acquired territory, to retain it in its territorial condition, or to admit it into the Union, as the general interests of the country may seem to require; and the fact, that the acquisition of Louisiana and Florida was accompanied by express stipulations, as to the future disposition of them, is no evidence that territories differently situated, may not be acquired without any such stipulations.

The Committee have done the Colonization Society injustice, in charging them with having referred in their petition, to the power of Congress “to provide for the common defence, and to promote the general welfare,” as to “a general authority bestowed upon that body by the Constitution, in virtue of which, the U. S. may lawfully acquire distant territory, or do any other of the acts which the Society wishes to be performed.” An examination of their memorial will show that this is a mistake. The only use it makes of the expressions referred to, will be found in the following sentence, near its close. “The resolutions which have been adopted by a very large proportion of the Legislatures of the States, in favour of the plan of colonizing the free people of colour, indicate it as an object entitled, in every respect, to the aid and patronage of a government, whose peculiar province it is, *in the exercise of its legitimate powers*, ‘to provide for the common defence, and to promote the general welfare’ of the country over which it presides.” And will the honourable Committee deny that it is the peculiar province of Congress, *in the exercise of its legitimate powers*, to provide for the common defence, and to promote the general welfare of the nation? Are these important ends of legislation to be wholly disregarded, even when they can be attained by means acknowledged to be legitimate?

In one respect, we are aware, that we shall differ from the Committee. We consider all the powers conferred on Congress, in the 8th section of the Constitution, as standing in the same relation to the preamble, as well as to each other. Each may be used in giving efficacy to the rest, but each may also be used in accomplishing *directly* the ends for which all are given. The Committee, on the contrary, have selected the first and most important of these powers—the power to raise and expend revenue—have taken from it, its distinct and substantive character, and would make it entirely and exclusively subsidiary to the powers that follow it. Commerce may be regulated, money coined, post offices established, and war declared, for any purpose calculated “to promote the common defence and general welfare,” while the power most especially given for this very purpose, is alone withheld from a *direct* application to it.—The treaty-making power, and the power to regulate commerce, may, according to the Committee, be employed for the acquisition of a desirable territory, because they are thus accomplishing “the general welfare,” for which they are given. But the money-raising power cannot be applied *directly* to the acquisition of the very same territory, although the fact of its being given for “promoting the general welfare,” is embodied in the very clause that conveys the power. If the reasoning of the Committee on this subject, be correct, it would follow, that the revenue of the government, although given “to pay the debts,” as well as “to provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States,” cannot be applied to the discharge of the revolutionary debt, because, in this case, it *must* act *directly* on its object, and not *indirectly* through the medium of any of the subsequently enumerated powers. But from a result so extravagant, we imagine even Governor Giles and Professor Cooper could not hesitate to revolt.

If, then, we are correct in our views of the general power of the government over its revenue—and we are sustained in them by the practice of every administration, by decided majorities in both branches of Congress, and by the voice of at least three-fourths of the nation—there can be no doubt but that the United States may both provide a territory for the reception of our coloured population, and appropriate the necessary funds for aid-

ing in its removal. Beyond this, neither we, nor (we believe) any others of the friends of the Colonization Society desire them to go—we ask the exercise of no power calculated to interfere, in the smallest degree, with either individual rights or state authorities—we seek the removal of no free person of colour without his own consent, and of no slave without the consent of his master, and of neither, without the consent and co-operation of the state in which he lives. Thus guarded and thus limited, we know no possible evil that can result from the proposed interference of the government, but the expenditure of its money—and how far that will be an evil, must depend on the value of the object to be accomplished, on its connection with the general interests of the nation, and on the amount of expenditure it will actually involve. But we have already trespassed so far on the attention of our readers, that we must postpone, to some other occasion, the interesting and extensive inquiry opened to us by the remarks of the Committee on this branch of the subject.

Report of the Board of Managers of the Lynchburg Aux. Col. Society.

The following Report was presented by J. B. Harrison, Esq., of the Board of Managers, a few days since, to the Lynchburg Society. Expressing as it does, the sentiments of a highly respected association in the central part of Virginia, we may hope that the SOUTHERN PEOPLE generally, will candidly reflect upon the clear and cogent arguments so admirably expressed, with which, here, the claims of our Institution are defended. While we must acknowledge ourselves disposed to apply for aid to the National Government, yet whether such application is or is not to be successful, we look with the very able author of the following Report, confidently, for support to individual charity, and the patronage of the States. Who can say what these may accomplish, when given with the full consent of all? We hope, however, that the preceding Review of Mr. Tazewell's Report

will not be lightly considered; coming, as it does, from one, distinguished alike for candid examination and intellectual vigour.

Mr. HARRISON, from the Board, presented the following Report:

The Board would esteem itself happy, did the state of public sentiment throughout the Union, justify it, in this its annual exhibit, in representing the prospects of the Society in the United States as obscured by no impending cloud, or menaced by no distant portent. But we should be uncandid if we dwelt in vague terms on the high motives of humanity and patriotism which impel us, and passed silently over certain circumstances materially affecting the chances of our success, which have occurred within the last year. It is manifest, too, that this Auxiliary Society, in the centre of the largest of the slave-holding States, and composed chiefly of slave-holders, bears a relation to the Parent Society, and to those of our fellow-citizens whom we desire to persuade to accede to our plan, essentially different from that of any Northern branch; for the operative motives with these last will be a patriotism more vague, and a benevolence less informed by experience than our own. It is due to ourselves, then, that we speak to justify the existence of our own Auxiliary in the midst of a community of slave-holders, and let us take it for our province to address persuasions, not to the general philanthropy of Americans, but to the good sense of the **SLAVE-HOLDING STATES**. It is certainly true, that the aid which is to be most efficient to our plan, must come from the slave-holding states themselves, and it will be vain to expect success for a scheme which is to operate chiefly on the South, if the South should be found decidedly hostile to its endeavours. Fully impressed with this idea, claiming too to speak not unadvisedly of evils of which we ourselves feel our individual full share, *we* too speak as **SOUTHERN MEN**; not as advocates but as parties; not as uninterested propagandists, but as the very subjects of the advice we give. It may be well to avow that a doubt has not entered the mind of the Board, that if any people in the world have a right to speak out on this subject, it is we.

The first matter proper to allude to, is the hostility to the whole ground of the American Colonization Society, exhibited by certain writers and speakers in our sister state of South Carolina. The Board cannot but regret that all these opponents have presumed to attribute to the Society objects which are not enumerated in its constitution, and which have, moreover, been repeatedly disavowed by formal resolutions. It is thought not unfair to charge on a great number of honourable men, united in a body which neither desires mystery, nor by possibility admits of secret purposes from the mode of its existence, the harboring of designs, of which no man who proposes to live in the country on which such experiments are to be practised, could with common sense desire to witness the progress. It is thought not unfair to charge a body composed in one-half certainly of slave-holders, with a deliberate policy, which, to that half would be suicidal,

and baneful to all the country; or else the malice is laid on the non-slave-holding part, and the rest are looked on as deluded by an ill disguised scheme, of fatal tendency. Having, before this time, declared the true objects of the Society, we may well demand the grounds on which any man may attribute to it a secret purpose to emancipate the slave property of the United States. Is it permitted to harbour itself in the Northern and Eastern branches as yet, to be shortly brought thence into light and action? Those who think so, are not aware, that, of all parts of the country, New England is most indifferent to our plan. Perhaps South Carolina itself has contributed as much to its aid as Massachusetts, the head of the Eastern states. Indeed, except Vermont, which has honourably distinguished itself by the charities of its citizens to the Society, there is no part of New England that has yet paid even the fair tribute of patriotism to it. In the middle and Western non-slave-holding states, where, if at all, there exists any anxiety to rid us of our slaves, this feeling has in no great degree associated itself with the Society; above all, it derives no warrant, but rather meets rebuke from that body. Again: does this secret purpose exist in the bosom of the Managers at Washington, citizens, let us not forget, like ourselves of a slave-holding district? Or, is it a subject of consultation among certain persons who assemble at the Annual meetings? On this head, the Board feels itself able to report to the Society—that a satisfactory answer may be given this day to our opponents. For several reasons, the Board thought proper to have a representative at the last annual meeting at Washington, J. B. Harrison, Esq., at which, also, he was instructed to assure the Society of resolute co-operation, and cause of increasing hope in this part of Virginia. We have every reason to believe that his zeal in the cause gave him free admission into the plans of the managers, and attending members; and from him we derive authority to say, neither the Managers nor the invaluable Secretary, Mr. Gurley, on whom, happily for us, devolve more immediately the general interests of the Society, nor any single member who spoke more than his own isolated opinion, entertains a thought of operating through this Society either the seduction of slaves, or the liberation of a single slave without the entire consent of the master. This is their leading sentiment; and, when, in the course of some rhetorical aberrations, a speaker happened to characterize the plan as one of different intent from this, it was gratifying to the Virginia feelings of our delegate, that every member with whom he conversed protested against the ascribing such a character to it. By this general expression of opinion he is convinced that he spoke not unauthorizedly, when he there declared that the American Colonization Society had no connection in fact or by resemblance, with any Abolition Society in America or elsewhere, and that the Society were ready then, if necessary, to pass a censure on such Societies in America.

Certainly the Society cannot justly be held to account for the overheated zeal of all persons scattered through the country, who have connection

in scarce any instance with it, nor should very heavy wrath fall on it for permitting to pass within its own halls the indiscretion of those rhetoricians to whom a simile is a hard temptation, and to resist an inviting trope is a fortitude for which the flesh is quite too weak. We rely then with confidence that the authorized officers, and its influential members do with honesty pursue the ostensible objects set forth in the constitutions of the Parent and the Auxiliaries, and have none other ulterior in view. Were not this our unanimous opinion, on full examination, no consideration, would induce a single member of the Board, and we venture to say, of this Auxiliary itself, to give it his co-operation. Satisfied, as we are, that we are uniting with honest men in the pursuit of a great object of patriotism and humanity, the brave and true men of Carolina must not expect us, in Virginia, to abandon principles dear to our hearts, at the unexpected hostility which they who presume to speak for the whole South, are pleased to proclaim against them. The elders among us, who have lent their mature approbation to our plan, are content to abide the clamour; and the young men who have adventured into this field, and made perhaps their first offering to the public service by the advocacy of this cause in the midst of slave-holders, as yet see no reason to recede from their ground; nor will they be dismayed while they reflect that of all the objects of animated zeal which can be pictured to them, none can so well reconcile ambition with a pure love of public utility. As for such young men, they are content to begin the race of life in a community where they are aware that popularity is indeed a precious treasure, besides that it is almost essential to the usefulness of any one, nothing doubting that they will finally be blessed with the gratitude of the Republic, and, by deserving it, acquire the only fame which is worth having, the fame that *follows*. But the Board will by no means admit that these, our opponents, speak the voice of the whole South. They even flatter themselves that an adversary is to rise up to these champions, not out of the defied and insulted North, but that the sensibility, the lofty spirit, the distrust of all philanthropy, and the boasted talent of slave-holding Carolina, are to be outpeered by the calmer dignity, the better tempered patriotism and the self-persuaded zeal of slave-holding Virginia. Indeed, it strikes us forcibly that there is now and always has been, an essential difference between the sentiment of Virginia and South Carolina on the whole subject of slavery. If we may consider the author of an able pamphlet, by Brutus, as speaking the voice of our opponents in Carolina, we shall find, by a close analysis, that the true grounds of their hostility are 1st, an apprehension that there does exist in all the non-slave-holding states a rooted design to abolish slavery among us, an apprehension which we will briefly declare, in our opinion to be, to any great extent, manifestly unfounded. In proof of this, let them reflect either on the declaration of Mr. Everett, that, in case of an insurrection of our slaves, he and his fellow citizens of Massachusetts would be the first to take the knapsack

and the musket, to fight for us, the holy war of our deliverance: Or, let them believe Mr. McDuffie, who declared that he could most sincerely tell them that there were not twenty men in Congress who would not vote as South Carolina would wish, on a proposal to interfere, in any manner, with her slaves. Let, then, this unworthy suspicion be forever dismissed.—2nd. However, they think it a full justification for all their hostility, that a Society dares to exist which speaks of slavery at all; and which, by the most remote implication, can be shown to desire the amelioration of slavery. We, of Virginia, have never so much dreaded the bare hinting at slavery as an evil as to attempt to suppress the natural workings of human nature. Before the Revolution, we passed 23 Acts to suppress the evil; all negatived by the King. As early as '76, feeling that it was an evil, we did not go into a corner to whisper out a craven humanity, but we boldly closed up and locked forever the great gate through which the pestilence was to be perpetually reinforced; we abolished the slave trade. South Carolina laughed then at our fanaticism, and pretended to tremble at our pernicious example. Her nerves proved tough for thirty-two years after this; and, up to the very last limit of the patience of the other states, the slave-ship showed its ill-fated flag in her harbours.

From a period as early as '82, we permitted any master, by deed or will, to emancipate his slaves; and, in 1806, for the best reasons, entirely accordant with the principles of this Society too, we added a clause requiring such emancipated persons to depart out of the State. Yet, we learn, from Brutus, that no slave can by law be emancipated in South Carolina without a special act of the Legislature, and that the Legislature has, particularly of late years, set its face against all emancipation. Will any one, after this, seek to ally the feeling of Virginia on this head with that of Carolina?—We can give but cold applause to that patriotism which declares war against the most distant tendency—we use the words of Brutus—"to weaken the attachment of our citizens to the policy which is the life-blood of Carolina," and proclaims that domestic servitude is so essentially interwoven with her prosperity, that for her own citizens to speak of its abolition, now or in any future time, is to talk of striking her out of political and civil existence.—(*Brutus*, page 124.) As for us, we mean to allow no dictation of the non-slave-holders; but, in bidding them hold off, we cannot use such arguments as these. God forbid, that we should be driven to incorporate with our every-day sentiments of liberty, the detestable paradox which those arguments imply. There are not, we believe, a hundred men in Virginia who do not hope their posterity may one day find it fit to relieve themselves of this curse. We should be unworthy of the beautiful system which it mars, did we not lament its existence, "as a stain upon a vestal's robe, the worse for what it soils." With this sentiment we can see in a Society, which, neither by remote operation, promotes disaffection among our slaves, nor offers to dictate to us, nothing which cries aloud for

the indignation of virtue, or the armed defiance of patriotism. Is there danger of disaffection, from removing the freed negroes and offering an asylum to such slaves as their masters may voluntarily manumit? Virginia will think not more than from her law permitting emancipation and requiring them to leave the State at the moment. Carolina, of course, thinks otherwise. The plan is in principle, as it was in fact, Virginian; and accords with every healthy throb of Virginia feeling. If it be indeed true, that the richest cotton lands of Carolina can never be cultivated except by slave labour, we sincerely pity our brethren for their embarrassing condition; but this, of itself, puts up a perpetual barrier between the interests of Virginia and Carolina, which no attachment for them can make us throw down. Virginia, at least, has no physical obstacle which will decree her never to become a flourishing commonwealth of homogeneous freemen.—To return, then, from these general considerations, and taking up the general character of the Society, we note with regret another turn of thought, which Brutus adopts as his own. The Society, says he, is the nucleus around which will be gathered the worst elements of discord. But, for the Society, we will assert, that, neither intending to excite nor to encourage discord itself, if there arise discord we shall know from what quarter it arises. Proud that we have discovered the richest scheme of patriotism and humanity that the age has seen, we offer it to the world, not as a nucleus for warring elements to gather around, but as one “entire and perfect chrysolite,” which we have vowed to keep pure from the taint of fanaticism, of sectional jealousy, and of party hatred. If there be faith in man, or feasibility in any generous purpose, it shall be kept to this; and through this will prevail.

The next matter which requires mention is the passage of resolutions by the Legislature of South Carolina and Georgia, not so much affecting the general merits of the Society as the right of Congress to afford it aid, under the Constitution of the United States; and also a report of a committee of the Senate, taking the same scope, never acted upon. This Auxiliary does not consider it a vital part of the scheme of the Society, to demand aid from Congress; and our friends in other parts of the United States must excuse us for reminding them of this. Doubtful, ourselves whether Congress has a right to appropriate money for this end, we need not meet our opponents on these points. We look for ample aid from the treasury of the States, and individual bounty; and would exhort all of the Auxiliaries to toil for help through these channels. Above all, we entreat Virginia not to conclude from the want of power in Congress to grant money, that therefore the Society does not deserve individual and even state patronage. The perfect logic of the author of the Report to the Senate had taught him that many of the noblest subjects for individual enterprise, the advancement of learning, of piety, of philanthropy in general, are wholly beyond the authority of Congress. But this very circumstance lays a heavier responsi-

lity on our private efforts. There is however, a single passage at the close of Mr. Tazewell's report, which does indeed strike with no unskillfully guided weapon at the very vitals of the Society. After cutting us off from any aid from Congress, he proceeded to speak of the Society, thus turned adrift, and to show it unworthy of any other aid. It is charged on us that this is a self-created Society, whose plans are connected with the action of the government, and therefore to be looked at with suspicion and distrust. Is it, then, true that a government of limited powers, stretching its authority over scarcely any of the vital influences of the community, has a just right by inuendo, to discourage the formation of associations intended to take charge of those vital influences? Is it not unreasonable that that which the government will not do, and individuals cannot, should be discouraged when attempted by a union of many individuals? But, further, should such an association even petition Congress for aid, can patriotic statesmen impose other conditions on them, than that they should be respectful, peaceable and temperate? Nay, would it not follow, from this, that no self-created Society should be allowed to petition any State Legislature? That which is wise, humane and patriotic, the people begin at their firesides; and, if they desire it much, they will unite their scattered strength into one body. This is the inevitable succession of popular anxiety, and he who asks that the government should look with distrust on that which does not begin with itself, asks for stagnation in the fountains of the public reservoir. Self-created societies would, therefore, be dangerous not only to Congress, but to the States, and, by deduction, to the people themselves, where they solicit individual aid from the people. But it is manifest that government in America is not such a machine of all work as to have a monopoly of public feeling and interest. There are some subjects wholly within the cognizance of Congress which it would be mischievous for bodies of men to presume to control, though even this would not apply to all cases so within that cognizance. But it is indolent logic, and worse humanity, to indict all self-created Societies having any reference to the action of the government, because certain kinds of them have been justly condemned by Washington, and others by Jefferson. Just judgments of conviction or acquittal lie in particulars only. Now, could the objects of this Society be put in progress by insulated individuals, without the fostering care of a permanent Board of Control? After doing much for themselves, they ask Congress to help; thinking it not foreign to their jurisdiction, though not belonging to Congress as a subject of necessary legislation. They do this peaceably and respectfully. Other cases prove only themselves. Let the world judge of this case by itself, if the bare fact of its being a self-created Society is enough to condemn it.

Is not the Board, then, justifiable, at the close of the third year of your existence, in urging you to go on in your great work, and in saying to you, that thus far, all is well. We shall succeed; the South will not all refuse to

bear its part in the cause? We warn you to beware of fulfilling the prediction of a sage Senator of South Carolina, that, "some how, benevolence seemed to be an unsuccessful business." It has been indeed true in the Southern States. Other things succeed better; ambition and avarice come of a healthy stock, and they last their generation. Unmixed benevolence no one would expect to exist long in these States; but we trust, that by adding to our benevolence no small quantity of self-interest, and some politics, this scheme gives vital heat enough to the philanthropy of the Virginia friends of Colonization, to prolong it beyond the ordinary duration of public schemes among us.

All which is respectfully submitted.



Slave Trade.

We regret to say, that this trade appears to be carried on to a great extent and with circumstances of the most revolting cruelty. Many details on this subject are given in the last Report of the African Institution. The *La Perle*, Gibbin, master, having landed part of a cargo of 250 slaves at Guadaloupe, was pursued by an armed French Cutter, and to avoid detection threw the remainder (65) overboard, and they all perished. Several of the bodies of the murdered negroes being washed ashore, some slight inquiries were made, but the authors of this inhuman murder, were not apprehended, and they have not yet been brought to any account for it. The French slave-trade, notwithstanding the efforts of the government, appears to be undiminished. The number of Spanish vessels employed in the trade is immense, and as the treaty between England and Spain only permits the seizure of vessels having slaves actually on board, many of these watch their opportunity on the coast, run in, and receive all their slaves on board in a single day. The ravages of disease, in consequence of the crowded state of these vessels, and the scarcity and wretched quality of the provisions served to the victims, are considered so inseparable from the trade, that they excite little notice. One instance is mentioned of a Spanish Schooner, of 60 tons burthen, into which, 221 slaves were crowded, their only provision being bad Yams and putrid water.—Thirty died on the passage, and the rest were landed in a misc-

rable state of weakness and emaciation. The Spanish slavers act frequently as pirates, sometimes even preying upon their brethren in iniquity. When they seize a slaver of inferior force, they generally murder the whites, and take possession of the living cargo. The slave trade is carried on unblushingly at Havana. In one instance when a British cruiser had chased a slave vessel, the *Minerva*, into port, the slaves were landed, while the government were pretending to inquire into the complaint of the British Officer who was sent on shore, and at this the authorities connived and screened the delinquents. On searching a steam vessel bound to Matanzas, however, this officer found 14 of the negroes stowed away between the bulk-heading, which separated the boilers from the vessel's side, and exposed to the intense heat produced by the lighted stoves! Six females were found concealed under a coil of ropes and a hawser. These wretched beings thought at first that they were doomed to death, but on being undeceived their joy was excessive. To the Brazils the slave trade is carried on to a great extent, and with circumstances of the most odious barbarity.—The *Intrepida*, of 100 tons burden, when captured, was found to contain 310 slaves, in a state of great wretchedness and emaciation; seventy of them had died in a passage of 46 days.—Another, the *Invincible*, contained 446 slaves, so crowded together, that it was impossible to separate the sick from the healthy, or the dying from the dead; their provisions and water were of the worst kind; the filth and stench was beyond description; and the dysentery, ophthalmia, and scurvy, carried off 186 of these poor wretches in less than 60 days.

It is consoling to think, that according to a treaty signed with Great Britain, in March 1827, the Brazilian slave-trade is to cease within three years, from that period. These facts are stated in an abstract of the African Institution's Report, in the *Liverpool Mercury*, which is concluded by the following dreadful picture of cruelty and suffering.

In a Spanish slave Schooner, boarded by H. M. S. *Aurora*, after a diligent search, 240 slaves were found concealed. They were in the most dreadful state imaginable. Having in their confined situation disease and starvation to contend with at once. The vessel had been at sea forty-seven days, from the coast of

Guinea; and, when captured, had only one day's provision on board. A Yam being thrown among the wretched negroes, they fought for it like hungry dogs.

We will here add a few facts which show (if *any* thing can show,) more strongly the atrocities and horrors of this trade.—In 1818, 22,231 slaves, were embarked on the coast of Africa for Rio de Janiero; of which number 19,802 only arrived at that place, 2,429 having died on the passage. One vessel lost 161 out of 421; another, 229 out of 659; a third, 238 out of 464.—By an official document from Rio de Janiero, it appears that the following importations of slaves were made into that port in 1826 and 1827.

1826, landed alive, 35,966—died on the passage 1,905

1827, landed alive, 41,384—died on the passage 1,643

Thus it would seem, (says the Boston Gazette,) that to only one port in the Brazils, and in the course of two years, *seventy-seven thousand three hundred and fifty* human beings were transported from their own country, and placed in a state of slavery. At Bahia, Pernambuco, and other ports in that kingdom, there is also an active commerce carried on with the coast of Africa for slaves, as well as in some of the French and other West India Islands; and we apprehend there never will be an extinction of this detestable traffic, until more efficient means are adopted by this country and Great Britain for its suppression.

During a voyage to Africa in a vessel belonging to the United States, a few years ago, the writer conversed with several of the older seamen, who had at some period of their lives been employed on board of slave ships. The following is an extract from the writer's note book at that time.

“Our steward says, he has been to Africa five times to obtain slaves. On one occasion, when an insurrection was apprehended, two hundred of the wretched beings were shot dead. Forty was about the number of deaths, which took place each voyage, except the last, when the loss was but ten; the number purchased each time being about four hundred. Another sailor, who has twice visited the African coast for slaves, states that from about 800, the cargo each time, 113 died during one voyage, and eighty-seven during another. The Boatswain informs me, that when he went to the Congo for slaves, out of

400, the number taken on board, 80 died on the passage."—These extracts will, we presume, give a correct idea of the ordinary mortality among the slaves during what is termed the middle passage, that is, while crossing the Atlantic. And shall Christian nations bear the reproach of this traffic longer? Can nothing more be done to save the thousands, men like ourselves, who are thus perishing in agony?



Valuable Thoughts.

We take the liberty to recommend the following extract to those who are doubtful and hesitating, in regard to our great design.

One thing is certain, that the greatest of all obstacles to the improvement of the world, is that prevailing belief of its improbability, which damps the exertions of so many individuals; and that, in proportion as the contrary opinion becomes general, it realizes the event which it leads us to anticipate. Surely if any thing can have a tendency to call forth in the public service the exertions of individuals, it must be an idea of the magnitude of that work in which they are conspiring, and a belief of the permanence of those benefits which they confer on mankind, by every attempt to inform and enlighten them. As in ancient Rome, therefore, it was regarded as the mark of a good citizen, never to despair of the fortunes of the republic; so the good citizen of the world, whatever may be the political aspect of his own times, will never despair of the fortunes of the human race; but will act upon the conviction, that prejudice, slavery, and corruption, must gradually give way to truth, liberty, and virtue; and that in the moral world, as well as in the material, the farther our observations extend, and the longer they are continued, the more we shall perceive of order and of benevolent design in the universe.—[*Dugald Stewart*.]



Extracts

From the Colonial Journal, transmitted by Rev. Lott Cary.

The Colonial Agent, J. Ashmun, Esq., went on board the brig Doris, March 26th, 1828, escorted by three companies of the

military, and when taking leave he delivered a short address, which was truly affecting; never, I suppose, were greater tokens of respect shown by any community on taking leave of their head. Nearly the whole (at least two-thirds) of the inhabitants of Monrovia, men, women and children were out on this occasion, and nearly all parted from him with tears, and in my opinion, the hope of his return in a few months, alone enabled them to give him up. He is indeed dear to this people, and it will be a joyful day when we are permitted again to see him.— He has left a written address, which contains valuable admonitions to Officers, Civil, Military, and Religious. The Brig sailed on the 27th. May she have a prosperous voyage.

THURSDAY, MARCH 27th.

Feeling very sensibly my incompetency to enter upon the duties of my office, without first making all the Officers of the Colony well acquainted with the principal objects which should engage our attention, I invited them to meet at the Agency House on the 27th, at 9 o'clock, which was punctually attended to; and I then read all the instructions left by Mr. Ashmun without reserve, and requested their co-operation. I stated that it would be our first object to put the Jail in complete order, secondly to have our guns and armaments in a proper state, and thirdly to get the new settlers located on their lands, as this was a very important item in my instructions. This explanation will, I think, have a good effect; as by it the effective part of the Colony is put in possession of the most important objects of our present pursuit; and I trust through the blessing of the great Ruler of events, we shall be able to realize all the expectations of Mr. Ashmun, and render entire satisfaction to the Board of Managers, if they can reconcile themselves to the necessary expenses.

MARCH 29th.

From a note received from Mr. James, dated Millsburg, I learn that he has visited King Boatswain, and that the new road from Boatswain's to Millsburg will shortly be commenced.— The Headmen expect, however, to be paid for opening the road. Messrs. James and Cook, who came down this evening, state, that the Millsburg Factory will be ready in a few days for the

reception of goods, and wished consignments might be made early. But as I had been on the 27th paying off the kings towards the Millsburg lands, and found that 120 bars came so far short of satisfying them, I thought best to see them together before I should attempt to make any consignments to that place.

[The following is a copy of a deed between Lott Cary, acting in behalf of the American Colonization Society, on the one part; and the after mentioned Kings, of the other part.]

Know all men by these presents: That we, Old King Peter, and King Governor, King James, and King Long Peter, do on this fourth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight, grant unto Lott Cary, acting Agent of the Colony of Liberia in behalf of the American Colonization Society, to wit:

All that tract of Land on the north side of St. Paul's river, beginning at King James' line below the establishment called Millsburg Settlement, and we the Kings as aforesaid do bargain, sell, and grant, unto the said Lott Cary, acting in behalf of the American Colonization Society, all the aforesaid tract of Land, situated and bounded as follows: by the St. Paul's river on the south, and thence running an east northeast direction up the St. Paul's river, as far as he, the said Lott Cary, or his successor in the Agency, or civil Authority of the Colony of Liberia, shall think proper to take up and occupy; and bounded on the west by King Jimmey's, and running thence a north direction as far as our power or influence extends. We do on this day and date, grant as aforesaid for the consideration (here follow the articles to be given in payment); and will forever defend the same against all claims whatsoever.

In witness whereof we set our hands and names:

OLD X KING PETER,
LONG X KING PETER,
KING X GOVERNOR,
KING X JAMES.

Signed in the presence of,

ELIJAH JOHNSON,
FREDERICK JAMES,
DANIEL GEORGE.

Auxiliary Societies.

We have recently heard of the formation of several Auxiliary Societies in the western part of the State of Pennsylvania and in New York, but unfortunately have not yet received lists of their Officers. We hope the Secretaries of these Societies will soon give us some account of them. The following is the only one which has come to hand.

At a meeting of the citizens of the village of Fredonia, pursuant to public notice, the Rev. Robert Henry, the American Colonization Society's Agent, presented the form of a Constitution for an Aux. Society, which was adopted, and the following gentlemen were chosen Officers of the Society.

John Crane, Esq., *President.*

Vice-Presidents.

Gen. Leveret Barker,

James Mullett, Esq.

Managers.

Col. James McMahan,

Abijah Young,

Edward H. Mulford.

Austin Smith, *Treasurer.*

Philip Wells, *Secretary.*

Remarkable Liberality.

We announce with great pleasure the fact, that a gentleman in Georgia, has recently sought aid from the Society, to remove the whole number of his slaves (43), that they may share the blessings of freedom in Liberia. The act of giving liberty to so large a number, will, we are informed, deprive this individual of the greater part of his fortune, and leave him utterly unable to do much towards their transportation. The Society, therefore, in assuming the responsibility of transferring these people of colour to the Colony, look confidently for the means to those generous Friends, (and we doubt not that there are many such) who can feel the full force of the appeal which this simple statement must make to every humane and Christian mind.

Subscription on the plan of G. Smith, Esq.

The object of this gentleman, it will be recollected, is to secure 100,000 dollars to the Society in ten years, by subscriptions of

1000 dollars, each subscriber to pay 100 annually for the term we have stated. To the number of those who have been mentioned in our previous numbers, as associates in this admirable purpose, must now be added the name of E. F. BACKUS, Esq. of New Haven, Connecticut, whose first payment will be found acknowledged in our list of donations. The liberality in which this plan originated, and with which it has thus far been supported, is worthy of all praise; and we may at least hope, that a sufficient number will be found to complete its execution.

African Mission School Society.

We observe with great pleasure that an Institution with this name was established at Hartford, Connecticut, on the 7th inst. We regret that the very interesting account of the proceedings on this occasion, must be deferred until our next number. We can only say, that it appears to have arisen under the fairest auspices, and that among its officers, we notice many of the most distinguished members of the Episcopal Church, in our country.

Arrival of Mr. Ashmun.

The Colonial Agent arrived at New Haven, Connecticut, after a protracted passage from St. Bartholomews, on the 10th instant. We are distressed to state, that our hopes of his speedy convalescence are much darkened; and indeed, that he has suffered a very considerable diminution of strength since he disembarked. Wonderfully has he been defended in times past; the shield of a good Providence has covered him amidst a thousand dangers; and we still would hope for the Divine interposition in his behalf, and that many years will be yet added to his invaluable life. Let then all who rejoice in the great and benevolent work, to which this life has been so ably and faithfully devoted, earnestly implore of Almighty God, that it may be prolonged, and that the success of his past exertions, may prove but the first fruits of good to be realized from his future labours.

Note.

It having been suggested, that possibly the remarks in our May number of the Repository, page 82, in which we mention as one of the causes of the mortality among the Emigrants by the Doris, "that symptoms of the scurvy had during the voyage appeared among the emigrants," may be misinterpreted as casting censure upon the officers of that vessel; we beg leave to state that the Managers never doubted for a moment, that every thing possible was done both by Captain Matthews and the other officers, to secure the comfort and health of the emigrants.

Notice.

The Board of Managers of the A. Colonization Society, propose to send a vessel, with a select company of emigrants to Liberia, in the course of the ensuing autumn; (provided their expectations in regard to funds shall not be disappointed,) and free persons of colour disposed to emigrate, are hereby invited to send in their names, with testimonials of a fair character and industrious habits. The Colony is now believed to be established on sure foundations, and the advantages which it offers to every intelligent and enterprising man of colour, constitute motives for emigration too numerous and too great to be easily resisted.

Each settler soon after his arrival, receives a small plantation, (to which some addition is made, in case he has a wife and children) and to this tract, if cleared and cultivated within two years, he obtains a title in fee simple. This plantation admits of enlargement, at a very small expense. The frugal and industrious are assisted for some months after their arrival if their necessities require it.

Considering then, the many inducements for emigration; the large number of applicants; the reduced price for a passage; and the very limited resources of the Society; the Board of Managers deem it reasonable to expect, that, in all cases where it is possible, those who wish to remove will defray in whole or in part,

the cost of their transportation, (the whole amount not to exceed \$25 for an adult, and half price for each child under 12) and to such as will do this, other things being equal, the Managers feel bound to say, the preference will be given.

Convinced as are the Managers, that in ordinary circumstances, every respectable free man of colour might easily obtain the means of removal to the Colony, they deem it right to urge them to look to their unassisted efforts, for securing to themselves a share in the privileges of the settlement in Liberia.—What these privileges are, the Colonists themselves shall state, in the language of their late address. “Our constitution secures to us, so far as our condition allows, all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the citizens of the United States; and these rights and these privileges are ours. We are proprietors of the soil we live on; and possess the rights of freeholders. Our suffrages, and what is of more importance, our sentiments and opinions have their due weight in the government we live under—our laws are altogether our own; they grew out of our circumstances; are framed for our exclusive benefit, and administered by officers of our own appointment, or such as possess our confidence. We have a judiciary from among ourselves; we serve as jurors in the trial of others; and are liable to be tried only by juries of our fellow-citizens, ourselves. We have all which is meant by *liberty of conscience*. The time and mode of worshipping God, as prescribed us in his word, and dictated by our conscience, we are not only free to follow, but are protected in following. Forming a community of our own, in the land of our forefathers; having the commerce and soil and resources of the country at our disposal; we know nothing of that debasing inferiority, with which our very colour stamped us in America; there is nothing here to create the feeling on our part—nothing to cherish the feeling of superiority in the minds of foreigners who visit us. It is this moral emancipation, this liberation of the mind from worse than iron fetters, that repays us, ten thousand times over, for all that it has cost us. We do not expect to remain stationary. We feel ourselves, for the first time, in a state to improve both our minds and our circumstances.”

But while we trust that many free men of colour may rely up-

on their own exertions for the means of emigration, we must say to our friends, that our pecuniary necessities are at present, great; and that without their prompt and liberal contributions, much which is urgently demanded must be left undone for our cause. Auxiliary Societies and Agents are respectfully requested to remit such sums as they may have, or may obtain, without delay, as this will greatly facilitate the operations of the Managers in regard to their intended expedition.

Africa.

By William B. Tappan.

While on the distant Hindoo shore
Messiah's cross is reared,
While Pagan votaries bow no more
With idol blood besmeared.

While Palestine again doth hear
The Gospel's joyful sound,
While Islam's crescents disappear
From Calvary's holy ground—

Say shall not Afric's fated land
With news of grace be blest?
Say shall not Ethiopia's band,
Enjoy the promised rest?

Ye herald's of a Saviour's love
To Afric's regions fly;
O haste, and let compassion move
For million's doomed to die.

Blessed Jesus, who for these hast bled,
Wilt thou the captives free;
And Ethiopia, too, shall spread
Her ransomed hands to thee.

Contributions

To the A. C. Society, from 23d July to 19th August, 1828.

[It has been suggested that it might be well to publish the Fourth of July Collections separately, so that their amount can be readily ascertained; which we do in the present number. We ought here to say, that the amount from this source, acknowledged in our last Number, was \$619 31]

Collections in Rev. Dr. Laurie's Church, Washington,	\$20 68
Do. in Patucket, R. I., per Rev. Otis Thompson,	3
Do. by Rev. D. Denny, Chambersburg, Pa.,	15
Do. in College Chapel, Amherst, Mass. per Rev. Doctor Humphreys,	31
Do. in Presbyterian Church, Hillsborough, N. C.	13
Do. at Cedar Spring, Centre co. Pa.	13
Do. in Presbyterian Church, Bellefonte, Pa. per Rev. Js. Linn,	8
Do. in Rev. Dr. Fisk's Church, Goshen, New York,	13
Do. in Olive Street Baptist Church, N. Y. to constitute Rev. S. H. Cone a life member,	30
Do. in Nelson, Portage county, Ohio, 4th July 1827,	1 12
Do. ditto ditto 1828,	3 38
Do. in South Dutch Church, Albany, N. Y.	51 92
Do. from Baptist Society, Charleston, Montg'y. co. N. Y.	3
Do. of Congregational Church, and Society in Ellsworth and Surry, Maine, per Rev. Peter Nourse,	10
Do. in Presbyterian Church, Prattsborough, Steuben co. N. Y. per James Hotchkin,	14
Do. in Rev. D. Field's Congregation, Stockbridge, Mass.	20
Do. in Rev. R. Steel's Congre'n., Abington, near Phila. .	6
Do. by Rev. Luke Humphrey, Burton, Granger co. N. Y.	5
Do. in Baptist and Presbyterian Churches, and Hamilton and vicinity, N. Y. per Rev. Pinder Field, thro' C. Porter,	13
Do. in Foundry Methodist Church, Washington, per Rev. Mr. Davis,	23 60
Do. in Methodist Episcopal Church, Alexandria, per Rev. J. Guest,	7 30
From Joseph Nourse, Esq., for the following collections by Rev. Dr. McClelland, near Harrodsburg, Pa. viz.	
From New Providence Congregation,	\$14 54
From Harrodsburg do,	16 75
	<hr/> 31 29
Carried forward,	\$336 29

		<i>Brought forward,</i>	\$336 19
Through Gerard Ralston, Esq. Treasurer of Pen. Col. Society, viz.			
Collection in the 6th Presbyterian Church in Phila.		\$23 30	
Do.	3d do.	21 70	
Do.	Christ Church, Episcopal, do.	36 56	
Do.	St. Peter's, do. do.	28 77	
Do.	St. Andrew's, do. do.	30 08	
Do.	St. James', do. do.	44 10	
Do.	2d Presbyterian Church in do.	20 50	
Do.	1st Northern Liberties,	28 34	
Do.	5th in Philadelphia,	20 78	
Do.	at Milton, Penn., per Rev. G. Jenkin,	5	
Do.	at Charlestown, Lancaster co. (E. Ch.)	10	
Do.	at Morgantown, Berks county,	6 50	
Cash (R. C.) thro' the Ed. of the Chris. Advocate,		5	
Collection in a Society near Hamiltonville, Philadel-			
phia county, per Mr. J. Buckman,		11 49	
Do.	in 1st Presbyterian Church, Kensington, Philad.	3 60	
			295 82
Collection in Presbyterian Congregation, Steubenville, Ohio, ...		11	
The offering of the little flock of Rev. James Arbuthnot, of Put-			
nam, Ohio, per A. Stafford,		5	
From J. G. Birney, Esq., of Huntsville, Alabama, contributed by			
several ladies and gentlemen of that place,		20	
From Presbyterian Congregation, Mercer, Pa. per T. Templeton,		10	
" E. Bateman, Esq., of Cedarsville, N. J. as follows, viz.			
Collection in Presbyterian Church,		\$14 50	
Do.	Methodist do.	3 50	
			18
Collection in Rev. Dr. Balch's Church, Georgetown, per John S.			
Nevins, Esq.		25	
Do.	in Tabernacle Church, Salem, per Mich'l. Shepard, .	51	
Do.	in Presbyterian Church, Cincinnati, Ohio, per Rev.		
D. Root,		10	
Do.	in Greenville, Tennessee, Presbyterian Church, per		
Rev. O. S. Hinckly,		11	
Do.	in 2d Congregation near Ravenna, Ohio, per Rev. Mr.		
Doolittle,		8 58	
Do.	in Presbyterian Church, Brownsville, Pa.	8 50	
Do.	in Presbyterian Congregation, Uniontown, Pa. per		
Rev. J. H. Agnew,		7	
Do.	in Congregation, Granville, Washington county, N. Y.		
per Rev. John Whiton,		13	
		<i>Carried forward,</i>	\$830 19

	<i>Brought forward,</i>	\$830 19
Collection in Methodist Church, Suffolk, Va. per A. Smith, Esq.		9
Do. at a Religious Celebration, Newburyport, Mass., per		
Rev. Dr. Dana,		20 60

	Fourth of July Collections,	\$859 79
From the charity box of Miss M. F. Turner, Va.,		2 11
" Rev. James Boyd of Lovington, Va. for Repository,		50
" Col. Benjamin Higley of Windham, Ohio,		50
" Rev. J. Treat, of ditto,		2
" George Petitt, Esq.,		22 90
" E. F. Backus, Esq. of New Haven, Con., his first payment on the plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq.,		100
" Fluvanna Aux. Society, Va. by John B. Magruder, Sec., ..		78
" Robert W. James, Esq. of Charleston, S. C. his annual sub- scription, per Mr. J. C. Dunn,		25
" Rev. B. O. Peirs, to make him a life member of the Lex- ington Society,		20
" Aux. Society, Pasquotank, N. C. per J. C. Eringhaus,		60
" W. C. Pearson of Edgefield, N. C., per J. J. Roberts,		2
" Adonijah Bidwell of Hillsdale, Mass.,		10
" Aux. Society Meadville, Pa. per John P. Davis, Tr.		12
" James Kenear, Franklin county, Pa.		1
" C. Foot, Chatagua county, N. Y.		1
" J. Pendergast, ditto,		1
" Dr. Bristol, Buffalo, ...		1
" Rev. J. W. Douglass, Charlotte county, Va.		2
" Repository,		23
" Benjamin Brand, Esq., Treasurer Richmond and Manches- ter Colonization Society,		106
" Rev. Joseph Chickering, Phillipston, Mass.,		3
" C. A. M, Georgia,		5
" Mr. Potter, near Ravenna, Ohio,		1
" A Friend,		1
" Aux. Society, Steubenville, Ohio, per D. Moody, Esq., Tr.		27
		<hr/> \$1416 30 <hr/>

Errata.

May Number, page 95, date the letter of John Y. Norton, Esq., *Albany*,
May 1828; page 134, 7th line from top, for N 30°, read N. 30'; ditto, page
 134, 8th line from top, for Southwestern, read *Southeastern*:

☞ A number of Copies of the Sixth, Seventh, Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Annual Reports, are on hand, and will be sent to any Individuals, who may apply for them to R. R. GURLEY, Secretary.